

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 SP-02 EB-08 L-03 H-01
INRE-00 USIE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 AID-05 TRSE-00
SS-15 STR-05 OMB-01 CEA-01 CIAE-00 COME-00 FRB-03
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R 121018Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5517
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION US NATO
USMISSION USUN
USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 17880

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: EEWT ECON EAID HX UR
SUBJECT: INCREASING CEMA COUNTRY INVOLVEMENT IN GLOBAL
ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

REF: (A) STATE 289920, (B) MOSCOW 12331,
(C) STATE 191928 (NOTAL)

1. WE APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENT'S INTEREST IN EXAMINING WHETHER
AND HOW US INTERESTS MIGHT BE ADVANCED THROUGH INCREASED INVOL-
VEMENT OF CEMA COUNTRIES IN GLOBAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND INSTITU-
TIONS, PARTICULARLY - WE ASSUME- THOSE WHERE THE NORTH/SOUTH
DIALOGUE IS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT. RECIPIENTS OF REF B WILL BE
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AWARE THAT WE WERE EXAMINING QUESTION OF SOVIET ROLE IN SUCH
INSTITUTIONS AND NOT NECESSARILY THE LARGER AND MORE COMPLEX
QUESTION OF PARTICIPATION BY ALL CEMA STATES. AT A LATER DATE,
ONCE WE HAVE SEEN CONTRIBUTIONS FROM OTHER RECIPIENT POSTS,
WE WOULD LIKE TO RETURN TO THIS SUBJECT FROM THE ASPECT OF THE
SOCIET VIEW ON THE BROADER QUESTIONS RAISED IN REF A.

2. WE UNDERSTAND AND WELCOME THE PURPOSE OF A FRESH LOOK AT THE SUBJECT, ONE WHICH DOES NOT CONFINE ITSELF TO CONVENTIONAL WISDOM AND PAST PRACTICE. THERE IS EVERY REASON FOR US TO EXAMINE PROSPECTS FOR WINNING ADDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE EFFORTS WE AND OUR TRADITIONAL FRIENDS ARE MAKING TO DEVELOP A MORE JUST AND DURABLE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE DEVELOPING WORLD. IF THESE EFFORTS CAN IMPROVE US-SOVIET OR EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN THE PROCESS, SO MUCH THE BETTER.

3. WE WOULD, HOWEVER, EXPRESS A NOTE OF CAUTION ABOUT THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE BEST POSSIBILITIES FOR REAL COOPERATION LIE IN EACH INSTANCE WITH QUIET BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE USSR (AND OTHERS). AS SEEN FROM HERE, THE RESISTANCE OF THE SOVIETS TO ASSUMING A GREATER AND MORE EQUITABLE SHARE OF THE BURDEN IS VERY STRONG. WE FULLY ENDORSE THE DEPARTMENT'S APPRECIATION OF THE FACT THAT HAMMERING ON THE TABLE WILL NOT MOVE THE USSR, BUT WE DOUBT THAT WE WILL DO MUCH BETTER WITH THEM IN THE DRAWING ROOM. THEY STILL SEE THEIR INTEREST IN THE THIRD WORLD AS PRIMARILY AND EVEN FUNDAMENTALLY CONFLICTING WITH OUR OWN. PERSUADING THEM TO OPEN THEIR POCKETBOOKS, EXCEPT ON THEIR OWN TERMS, WILL BE A FORMIDABLE TASK.

4. WE FEEL THAT THE SINGLE MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS OF ENCOURAGING THE USSR TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN A FORM CONSONANT WITH OUR INTERESTS IS THROUGH PRESSURE - AND NOT NECESSARILY QUIET - FROM THE LDC'S THEMSELVES. TOWARDS THIS
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GOAL, WE SUSPECT THERE IS LITTLE THE US CAN CONTRIBUTE DIRECTLY, UNTIL AND UNLESS THE SOVIETS FEEL THE HEAT FROM THOSE WHOSE GOOD OPINION THEY VALUE HIGHLY. WE RECOGNIZE THAT A TOO OPEN ADVOCACY BY US OF THIS COURSE WITH THE LDC'S IS UNLIKELY TO BE PROMOTIVE OF THE OBJECTIVE. IF THERE IS, HOWEVER, A ROLE FOR "QUIET DIPLOMACY", WE BELIEVE IT LIES IN DISCREETLY ENCOURAGING THE MORE RESPONSIBLE LDC'S TO KEEP THE PRESSURE ON THE USSR TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING. (WE TRIED THIS THESIS ON A SENIOR LDC REP HERE WHO FULLY CONCURRED, ALTHOUGH POINTING OUT THEA THE RECENT SETBACK IN THE NORTH/SOUTH RELATIONSHIP MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE SOVIETS TO OPT OUT). THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT LDC PRESSURES DO BOTHER THE SOVIETS, EVEN THOUGH THEY RESIST THEM. A SENIOR SOVIET OFFICIAL WHO DEALS WITH ALL NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES RECENTLY CONFIDED TO US THAT HE HAD COME TERRIBLE HOURS AT AN UNCTAD MEETING IN GENEVA DUE TO THE DEMANDS OF THE LDC'S, WHICH HE VIEWED AS TOTALLY UNREASONABLE AND UN-ACCEPTABLE. EVEN THOUGH HIS MAIN DISCUSSANTS WERE AN ETHIOPIAN, WITH WHOM THE SOVIETS ARE OTHERWISE RATHER CHUMMY THESE DAYS, AND A JAMAICAN THE OFFICIAL SAID HE FOUND IT NECESSARY TO LEAVE THE PREMISES AND TURN THE SESSION OVER TO HIS DEPUTY, TO WHOM HE SAID HE GAVE CARTE BLANCHE TO AGREE TO NOTHING. WE REAGRD THIS AS AN AUTHENTIC SOVIET VIEW, BOLSTERED BY THEIR OWN SELF-

IMAGE OF INNOCENCE FOR THE PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD AND THEIR
CUSTOMARY TIGHTFISTEDNESS ABOUT TRANSFERRING THEIR ASSETS
TO OTHERS FOR A PURPOSE THEY CANNOT CONTROL. IF ANYONE CAN
MOVE THEM, WE BELIEVE THAT THE LDC'S ARE IN THE BEST POSITION
TO DO SO. AT THEIR VERY LEAST, SOVIET RESISTANCE TO LDC PRESSURES
WILL GO FAR TO UNDECEIVE THOSE IN THIRD WORLD WHO STILL MAY BE
INCLINED TO ACCEPT THE MYTH OF THE USSR AS CHAMPION OF THE
OPPRESSED. IF THE LDC'S WERE TO MAKE IT WARM ENOUGH FOR
THE SOVIETS, THE LATTER MIGHT EVEN BE SLIGHTLY MORE INCLINED TO
CONSULT US OVER WHAT WOULD BY THEN BE A "COMMON PROBLEM."
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